

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON:OSM
APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEELE
S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN
S - HAL COLLUMS
-----272244Z 004153 /61
O 272216Z DEC 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 311294 TOSEC 340031

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: LIAISON WITH RICHARD'S
AFRICAN SHUTTLE (S/S 7626142)
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFEELE
1. PROBLEM:

BILL EDMONDSON LEAVES TOMORROW TO MAINTAIN LIAISON WITH
IVOR RICHARD AND DENNIS GRENNAN DURING THEIR AFRICAN TOUR.
WE NEED TO INSTRUCT HIM: (1) WHETHER HE SHOULD CONFINE
HIMSELF TO CONTACTS WITH RICHARD AND OUR EMBASSIES OR
WHETHER HE MAY CONTACT LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OR
OTHERS TO REPORT THEIR VIEWPOINTS; (2) WHETHER HE SHOULD
FOLLOW RICHARD TO SALISBURY OR PICK UP WITH THE BRITISH
IMMEDIATELY AFTER THEIR SALISBURY VISIT; AND (3) WHETHER
HE SHOULD TRAVEL TO WEST AFRICA SHOULD RICHARD DECIDE TO
CONSULT WITH THE NIGERIANS.

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BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

RICHARD TENTATIVELY PLANS TO VISIT LUSAKA DECEMBER 30-31,
GABORONE JANUARY 1-2, PRETORIA JANUARY 3-4, GABORONE
AGAIN JANUARY 5-6 (TO GIVE VORSTER TIME TO COMMUNICATE

WITH SMITH IF HE WISHES), SALISBURY JANUARY 7-8 OR
LONGER, MAPUTO JANUARY 8-9, DAR ES SALAAM JANUARY 9-10,

AND THEN TO CONSIDER A SECOND ROUND, ALL WITH A TARGET
DATE OF JANUARY 17 FOR RETURNING TO GENEVA. HE TOLD THE
PRESS THAT HE MIGHT CONCEIVABLY VISIT ANGOLA AND NIGERIA
AS WELL, BUT HE APPARENTLY HAS NO ACTUAL PLANS TO DO SO.
EDMONDSON WILL TRAVEL TO MOST OF THE SAME PLACES RICHARD
GOES IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN CLOSE LIAISON AND REPORT TO YOU
ON THE PROGRESS OF RICHARD'S CONSULTATIONS. ALTHOUGH
HE WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO CARRY OUT ANY SEPARATE
CONSULTATIONS YOU MIGHT WISH, HE WILL NOT INITIATE ANY
TOP LEVEL CONTACTS UNLESS INSTRUCTED TO DO SO AND SENT
TALKING POINTS FROM HERE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SINCE HE
KNOWS SOME OF THE OFFICIALS IN ZAMBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA,
IT MIGHT CREATE SUSPICION IF HE VISITS THESE COUNTRIES
AND AVOIDS ANY CONTACT WHATSOEVER WITH LOCAL FOREIGN
MINISTRY OFFICIALS OR PERSONS LIKE MARK CHONA WHO MAY
LEARN OF HIS VISIT. DIFFERENT PROBLEMS EXIST WITH REGARD
TO THE POSSIBILITY OF VISITS TO SALISBURY OR LAGOS. TO
VISIT SALISBURY AND CALL ON ANY OFFICIALS THERE WOULD
EXTEND THE LIMITED PRECEDENT OF MY EARLIER VISIT WITH
ROWLANDS AND DUFF AND ASSOCIATE US DIRECTLY WITH THE
BRITISH PROPOSALS, BUT TO VISIT THERE WITHOUT CALLING
ON ANY OFFICIALS MIGHT BE TAKEN BY THE RHODESIANS AS A
SIGNAL THAT THE US DOES NOT FAVOR THE PROPOSALS. A VISIT
TO NIGERIA WOULD ROUSE LESS SUSPICION, BUT WE HAVE NOT
WANTED TO WORK THROUGH THE NIGERIANS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN
QUESTIONS.

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2. OPTIONS:

A. EDMONDSON COULD CONFINE HIMSELF EXCLUSIVELY TO
CONTACTS WITH THE BRITISH AND WITH OUR OWN EMBASSIES.

ADVANTAGES:

-- WE AVOID CHARACTERIZING THE BRITISH PROPOSALS AS AN
ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN.

-- WE STAY OUT OF THE WAY OF BRITISH EFFORTS.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- OUR ALOOFNESS MIGHT BE TAKEN TO INDICATE RESERVATIONS
ABOUT OR DISAPPROVAL OF THE BRITISH PROPOSALS.

-- WE WOULD GET ONLY THE BRITISH ASSESSMENT OF LOCAL

REACTIONS.

B. EDMONDSON COULD MEET LOCAL FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS
AND OTHERS AT THE WORKING LEVEL AS APPROPRIATE, EXPLAIN

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THAT HE IS ONLY TRAVELING TO MAINTAIN LIAISON WITH THE
BRITISH MISSION, AND CONFINE HIMSELF TO INQUIRING
ABOUT OTHER VIEWPOINTS.

ADVANTAGES:

-- AVOIDS ANY IMPRESSION OF DISAPPROVAL OF THE BRITISH
PLAN.

-- MAY PROVIDE USEFUL INFORMATION ON LOCAL REACTIONS.

DISADVANTAGES:

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-- COULD RAISE QUESTION OF WHY WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING
PROPOSALS AS THE BRITISH MAY BE DOING.

-- MIGHT GIVE IMPRESSION OF DUPLICATING BRITISH EFFORT.

C. EDMONDSON COULD TRAVEL TO SALISBURY.

ADVANTAGE:

-- QUICKER READOUT ON VARIOUS BRITISH CONTACTS.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- ONE MORE EXCEPTION TO OUR POLICY AGAINST OFFICIAL
VISITS.

-- VISIT WITHOUT LOCAL CONTACTS WOULD RAISE UNDESIRABLE
QUESTIONS ABOUT US ATTITUDE TOWARD BRITISH PROPOSALS.

D. EDMONDSON COULD CONTACT BRITISH AFTER SALISBURY
VISIT.

ADVANTAGES:

-- BRITISH WILL PROBABLY NOT COMMUNICATE TO LONDON UNTIL
AFTER LEAVING SALISBURY ANYWAY.

-- ABSENCE OF US VISIT SHOULD NOT RAISE QUESTION.

DISADVANTAGES:

-- DELAYED, MORE GENERALIZED READOUT ON BRITISH CONTACTS
(UNLESS THEY SHARE COMMUNICATIONS WITH US).

-- WE MIGHT LATER BE ACCUSED OF HAVING MADE NO EFFORT
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TO URGE SETTLEMENT ON RHODESIANS.

E. EDMONDSON COULD VISIT NIGERIA.

ADVANTAGES:

-- QUICKER READOUT ON BRITISH CONTACTS.

-- POSSIBLE DIRECT IMPRESSION OF NIGERIAN VIEWS.

DISADVANTAGE:

-- NIGERIANS MAY SEEK CLOSER, CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS
ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

F. EDMONDSON SHOULD NOT VISIT NIGERIA.

PROS AND CONS ARE REVERSE OF OPTION E.

G. EDMONDSON SHOULD SEEK FURTHER GUIDANCE IF BRITISH
DECIDE TO EXTEND CONSULTATION TO NIGERIA OR OTHER
COUNTRIES.

ADVANTAGE:

-- LEAVES OPTIONS OPEN.

DISADVANTAGE:

-- TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS MAY REQUIRE LEAD TIME.

3. RECOMMENDATION:

A. THAT YOU APPROVE EDMONDSON MEETING WORKING LEVEL
OFFICIALS AS APPROPRIATE (OPTION B).

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NO, CONTACT ONLY THE BRITISH AND OUR MISSIONS.

B. AND THAT YOU APPROVE HIS BEING INSTRUCTED TO STAY
AWAY FROM SALISBURY, REJOINING THE BRITISH LATER
(OPTION D).

NO, GO TO SALISBURY WITH RICHARD.

C. AND THAT YOU APPROVE THAT HE REQUEST GUIDANCE IF THE
BRITISH EXTEND THEIR CONSULTATIONS TO NIGERIA
(OPTION G).

NO, GO TO NIGERIA IF RICHARD GOES.

NO, DON'T GO IN ANY CASE.

DRAFTED: AF:WBEDMONDSON; CLEARED S BY HAL COLLUMS.

ROBINSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, MEETING CHAIRMAN, INSTRUCTIONS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, PLANNING MEETINGS, VISITS, CAT-A
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE311294
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WBEDMONDSON:OSM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840105-0378
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761212/aaaaajyx.tel
Line Count: 242
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <02 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM: LIAISON WITH RICHARD'S AFRICAN SHUTTLE (S/S 7626142)
TAGS: PDEV, PFOR, OTRA, RH, (EDMONDSON, WILLIAM B), (RICHARD, IVOR)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006